

Message Text

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PAGE 01 HELSIN 00175 260745Z

42

ACTION EUR-25

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FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7110

INFO USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 0175

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, FL

SUBJ: CSCE: CURRENT THINKING ON CSCE DEVELOPMENTS.

REF: (A) STATE 3583 AND (B) GENEVA 0398 (NOTAL).

1. IN COMPLIANCE WITH REQUEST IN REFTEL (A), EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE SOUNDED OUT SEVERAL FINNISH FONOFF OFFICIALS AND LOCAL DIPLOMATS WHO PARTICIPATED IN HELSINKI CONSULTATIONS AND PHASE I OF CSCE CONCERNING (A) LIKELY DEVELOPMENTS IN PHASE II; (B) THE PROSPECTS FOR PHASE III; (C) AND WHAT, IF ANYTHING, IS THE OUTLOOK FOR AN ON-GOING MECHANISM. THE FOLLOWING COMPILATION OF PERTINENT STATEMENTS RECEIVED (FULL TEXT OF MEMCONS HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED TO SELECTED POSTS) ARE OFFERED FOR WHATEVER VALUE THEY MAY HAVE TO
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PAGE 02 HELSIN 00175 260745Z

THOSE INVOLVED IN THE DAY-TO-DAY DELIBERATIONS OF CSCE IN GENEVA AND ELSEWHERE:

2. A.J. KOZLOV, THIRD SECRETARY SOVIET EMBASSY IN HELSINKI, ACTIVE IN HELSINKI CONSULTATIONS, IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBASSY PAO: IT'S A MISTAKE IN CSCE TO CONCENTRATE ON BASKET III-- ALL THE BASKETS ARE IMPORTANT; SOVIETS EXPECT TO MAKE CONCESSIONS -- "THE ONES WE CAN;" PHASE III SHOULD BE HELD IN HELSINKI IN JULY; TWO MATTERS THAT SOVIETS TAKE MORE SERIOUSLY THAN ANYTHING ELSE -- CSCE AND CHINA; IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE WEST UNDERSTANDS THAT DETENTE IS GOOD, THAT THE IMPROVEMENTS MADE BY MESSRS. BREZHNEV AND NIXON ARE FAR-REACHING AND APPLY TO THE LONG AND DISTANT FUTURE, NOT ONLY TO NOW; IT IS VITAL THAT THE WEST UNDERSTANDS THIS; THE WEST MUST UNDERSTAND THAT WHAT MR. BREZHNEV IS DOING IS NOT EASY, THAT IT COULD GO WRONG; IF THAT HAPPENS DETENTE COULD BE PUT OFF FOR A LONG TIME -- WHO KNOWS HOW LONG?

3. MATTI TUOVINEN, CHIEF POLITICAL SECTION FINNISH FONOFF, IN CONVERSATION WITH CHARGE: SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED PHASE III WILL BE HELD; THAT IT WILL BE HELD IN HELSINKI; AND THAT IT WILL BE HELD AT "THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE LEVEL;" SOVIETS ACKNOWLEDGE CERTAIN COMPROMISES WILL HAVE TO BE MADE; SOVIETS WILL, OF COURSE, NOT COMPROMISE MORE THAN IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY; SOVIETS ALSO WOULD NOT REACH A COMPROMISE THAT WOULD LEAVE A HIATUS OF SEVERAL MONTHS BEFORE PHASE III; TOO MUCH MIGHT HAPPEN BETWEEN THE COMPROMISE AND THE PUBLIC CONFIRMATION; A LONG DISTANCE RUNNER PACES HIMSELF, STARTS SLOWLY, SPURTS WHEN GOAL IS IN SIGHT; THIS POLICY FOLLOWED BY SOVIETS AT HELSINKI CONSULTATIONS AND WILL PROBABLY BE FOLLOWED IN GENEVA; BY THE END OF MARCH WE WILL BE ABLE TO TELL WHAT WE MAY EXPECT FROM CSCE; THE EASTER BREAK WILL BE PERIOD FOR DIGESTING AND LAST MINUTE INSTRUCTIONS AT HOME CAPITALS, WITH THE MONTH OF MAY THE PERIOD OF COMPROMISE COUPLED WITH THE "SPURT" TO THE FINISH; WHEN THE SOVIETS SAY "HIGHEST POSSIBLE LEVEL," THEY MEAN JUST THAT; IF DRAMATIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST REFLECT SOVIET GOOD WILL AND
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PAGE 03 HELSIN 00175 260745Z

COOPERATION THE IMPACT ON CSCE WOULD BE SALUTARY; UNLESS THE RESULTS ARE MORE SUBSTANTIAL THAN CURRENTLY ENVISAGED, THE SUMMIT WILL PROBABLY BE A MIXTURE OF PREMIERS AND FOREIGN MINISTERS; IT'S TOO EARLY TO SPECULATE ON ANY ON-GOING CSCE MECHANISM; IN ANY EVENT FINLAND HAS NOT ASKED THAT SUCH AN ORGANIZATION BE CONSIDERED FOR HELSINKI; THE CSCE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NORDIC COUNTRIES IN GENEVA WILL MEET IN OSLO THIS WEEKEND TO DISCUSS THEIR RESPECTIVE APPROACHES TO CSCE; TUOVINEN WILL ALSO ATTEND THIS CONCLAVE.

4. ARTO MANSALA, POLITICAL SECTION FINNISH FONOFF, IN CONVERSATION WITH EMB POL OFFICER: NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT ANY SUBSTANTIAL SOVIET CONCESSIONS; THE SOVIETS INSIST IN BASKET I THAT THEIR OWN RULES APPLY TO EASTERN EUROPE IN CONNECTION WITH QUESTIONS OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS -- A VERSION OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, WHICH HE THOUGHT COUNTRIES LIKE ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA WOULD HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY ACCEPTING; CSCE APPARENTLY HAD BEEN AWAITING SOME PROPOSAL FROM FINNS ON THE FOLLOW-ON MECHANISM, BUT THE FINNS FEEL THAT FOLLOW-ON, IF ANY, SHOULD DEPEND ON AND EMANATE FROM THE FINAL RESULTS OF PHASES II AND III; FEELS A FORMAL, LEGAL DOCUMENT THAT WOULD LEGITIMIZE THE STATUS QUO IS MORE IMPORTANT TO SOVIETS THAN THE LEVEL OF WHO ATTENDS OR SIGNS; PARTLY BECAUSE OF DEVELOPMENTS AND PARTLY AS A FOLLOW-UP ON AN IDEA FROM KREISKY-BRANDT-PALME, ENERGY QUESTIONS COULD BECOME MAJOR ISSUE AT THE PRESENT PHASE II TALKS IN GENEVA.

5. JAAKKO ILONIEMI, FINNISH CSCE AMBASSADOR, AT PRESS CONFERENCE PRIOR TO DEPARTURE FROM HELSINKI: FINLAND HAS NOT VOLUNTEERED TO BE A HOST FOR THE ON-GOING ORGAN OF COOPERATION EXPECTED TO RESULT FROM CSCE; IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO DISCUSS A SITE FOR SUCH FUTURE COOPERATION; PHASE II OF CSCE WILL END AT THE EARLIEST BY EASTER AND AT THE LATEST BY JULY OF THIS YEAR; FINLAND'S ROLE IN GENEVA HAS BEEN AIMED AT BRINGING CLOSER TOGETHER THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST; THE FINNISH FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS ESTABLISHED A SPECIAL CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 HELSIN 00175 260745Z

SIXTEEN-MAN COMMITTEE FROM VARIOUS FIELDS, CHARGED WITH CSCE CONSIDERATIONS; THE CHAIRMAN OF THIS COMMITTEE IS TANELI KEKKONEN, AMBASSADOR AT LARGE AND SON OF PRESIDENT KEKKONEN.

6. COMMENT: AS WE SEE IT, THE FINNS ARE PROCEEDING WITH THE NECESSARY ADMINISTRATIVE AND LOGISTIC PLANS FOR A PHASE III MEETING HERE IN JUNE OR JULY. THEY SEEM TO PREDICATE THEIR PLANS ON THE BELIEF THAT THE SOVIETS WANT SUCH A SUMMIT AND WILL MAKE THE MINIMUM CONCESSIONS. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT WHEN THE SOVIETS FIRST STARTED PUSHING THE CSCE THEME AND SELECTED HELSINKI AS THE SITE A SPECIAL UNDERSTANDING EXISTED BETWEEN HELSINKI AND MOSCOW. IN ORDER TO STIMULATE THE FINNS TO START MAKING PREPARATIONS FOR A GIVEN DATE, THE SOVIETS HAVE NOW OBVIOUSLY TOLD THE FINNS THAT THEY (THE SOVIETS) WILL MAKE CERTAIN COMPROMISES. THOSE OF US

WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE HELSINKI CONSULTATIONS FEEL THAT WE HAVE SEEN THIS SHOW BEFORE. NO ONE HERE EXPECTS THAT LIGHT SWITCH WILL BE FLICKED ON AT A CSCE SUMMIT AND ALL OF EUROPE WILL BE BATHED IN A ROSE-COLORED LIGHT. AT THE MOST, WE EXPECT A FIRST NOTCH ON A "DIMMER SWITCH" WHICH WILL ADD A DEGREE OF BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE OPEN AND THE CLOSED SOCIETIES OF EUROPE.

7. BY SEPARATE TELEGRAMS NEXT WEEK WE PLAN TO SET FORTH A BALANCE SHEET OF FINLAND'S TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF DETENTE POLICIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

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